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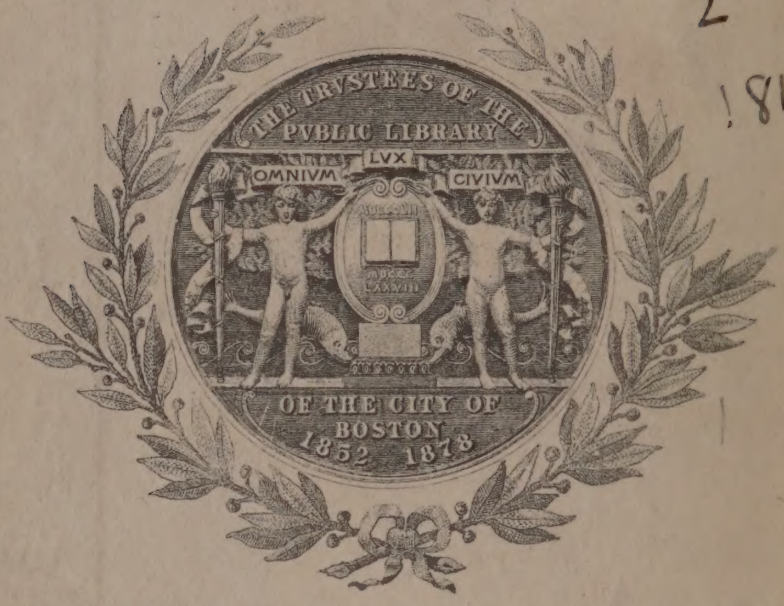

AN

ORATION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

WASHINGTON BENEVOLENT SOCIETY

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

ON THE

THIRTIETH DAY OF APRIL, 1813,

BEING THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST INAUGURATION

OF

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

BY JOSIAH QUINCY.

BOSTON:

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1813.

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AT a meeting of the Standing Committee of the WASHINGTON BENEVOLENT SOCIETY, on Friday evening, April 30, 1813.

Voted, That FRANCIS J. OLIVER, ANDREW SIGOURNEY, and LEMUEL SHAW Esquires, be a Committee to wait upon the Hon. JOSIAH QUINCY, and in behalf of the Society to present him with their thanks, for the patriotick and spirited Address, this day delivered before the society; and to request a copy thereof for publication.

WILLIAM COCHRAN, *Secretary.*

Boston, 1st. May, 1813

GENTLEMEN,

IN conformity with the request of the Standing Committee of the WASHINGTON BENEVOLENT SOCIETY, I have the honour to transmit a copy of the Address, yesterday delivered before that Society by

Respectfully your humble servant.

JOSIAH QUINCY.

Messrs. F. J. OLIVER,
ANDREW SIGOURNEY,
LEMUEL SHAW, } *Committee.*

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ORATION.

ASSEMBLED in the name of Washington, we inquire of his spirit concerning our duties. In his life and writings, by precept and example, his spirit responds. "SONS OF WASHINGTON! BE FAITHFUL TO YOUR COUNTRY!"

But in times like ours, what is fidelity to our country? His spirit, living in the records of his virtues, replies.—"SONS OF WASHINGTON! SEEK AND SPEAK WHAT IS TRUE AND WHAT IS USEFUL."

We yield to the venerated influence and devote this hour, to what is true and what is useful to be known, concerning the condition and prospects of our country. Over these heavy clouds hang. It is a solemn scene; and no time to collect flowers of fancy, or to indulge in sports of the intellect. May the spirit of Washington, rest upon us! May it invigorate our thought; chasten and direct every patriotic purpose; elevate our minds, above the poor project of present relief, to the generous search after future security;—and teach us to be as true to our posterity as our fathers were to us; and as he was to his country.

The circumstances and prospects of our times are best viewed by the light of Washington. What is false, or counterfeit, will easily be detected when tried by the standard of his character, conduct and princi-

ples. Viewed by his light, what is true of our national rulers, and their principles; and what of our condition.

Our rulers,—who are they, and what is true of them? Mr. Madison is President. Mr. Monroe, Secretary of State. Mr. Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Armstrong, Secretary of War. Every man of them, in Washington's day, the enemies of his policy. All of them laid the foundations of their present elevation, on the ruin of his influence, and that of his selected friends.

The President is that individual, who, for almost eight years, was one of the leaders in the House of Representatives of an opposition to him and his measures, equally bitter and determined. The Secretary of State is that individual, who, during the same period, publi ly and laboriously, libelled his administration, as *wasteful, coward,* and (*a*) "*contrary to the public feeling and judgment.*" Need I tell you of the clerk of the Pittsburgh insurgents, when they "*voted unanimously,*"—(*b*) "*To withhold all the comforts of life,*" from officers, acting under his authority? Or, need I name the author, now not denied, of the anonymous letters to the revolutionary army, towards whom, Washington invited that army (*c*) "*to express their utmost horror and detestation.*"

But although, it is undeniable, that the enemies of the living Washington, preside over our destinies, perhaps, now that he is dead, they are converts to his principles.—Strange, indeed, if the principles, which, in his day secured our peace, vindicated our honour, maintained tranquillity at home and respect abroad, and raised our country to the highest pitch of greatness, should be the same principles, which, in our day, have lost our peace, sacrificed our honour, scattered discord at home, and made us the scorn of one belligerent and the victim of the other. It cannot be. "The same fountains send not forth sweet waters and bitter."

The principle of Washington, which lay at the

foundation of his glory, and was the basis of the blessing of his day, was to introduce virtue and talent, into the conduct of public affairs. The principle of our present rulers is to introduce tools and instruments. With these men, the great requisite is political subserviency. This single feature is, alone, sufficient to account for the whole difference of our political condition. For the particular, in which that difference consists, is, in fact, the corner stone of the republican system of government. The theory of which rests upon this basis, that, in its result, the virtue and talents of a country shall preside over its destinies. Whenever this fail; and attachment to a party, or fidelity to a chief, or subserviency to a cabal; whenever, as was, distinctly avowed, in the outset of the power of these men, other considerations than (*d*) "honesty, capacity, and fidelity to the constitution," become the criterions of office and appointment, the moral basis of the republic is gone. Its form may, indeed, remain. But its vital spirit has fled. The stream of corruption, when once it begins to flow, in a free country, never retreats to its fountain; nor does the spring which feeds it, ever become dry. At first, it winds its way, in secrecy and silence, attracting to its current, only, what is light, and hollow, and rotten and feculent; but, soon, gathering boldness, in its course, it advances with an irresistible torrent, and sweeps away every honour of the field, and every mound of safety.

Whenever the rulers of a nation become, the mere heads of a party, the last and least consideration, with them, is the good of the people. How to secure their power; how to manage the elections; who is the fittest tool; who will run the fastest, go the farthest, and hold out the longest, for the least wages of corruption, are the only inquiries. To give muscle and durability to their influence is the single end of their political system. For this British antipathies are stimulated. For this British injuries are magnified. For this French affections are cultivated and

French insults and injuries palliated, or concealed. For this we had restriction. For this, embargo. For this, we have war. For this, war shall be continued. And if peace come, for this peace shall be concluded. For unprincipled ambition, in power, effects not, even public good, except from corrupt motives.

Need I farther illustrate the difference of principle, which distinguishes the present times from those of Washington? Then the spirit of patriotism predominated. Now the spirit of cabal. Then virtue was in high places. Now, there is intrigue. Then we had wisdom for our guide. Now, cunning. Then debate in either house of Congress, had an influence upon public measures. Now, what is to be done, is settled, before debate, or without it. A cabinet, or a "caucus," brooding in darkness, decides the fate of the country, and a Congress, calling itself free, registers its decrees. We have, indeed all the forms of freedom, but, constitutionally speaking, and as far as the measures of the national government have effect, we wear as galling and soul depressing a chain as ever afflicted a people. All this is natural. All is characteristic. All is necessary. The spirit of cabal put down the spirit of Washington, by appealing to base passions and exciting corrupt hopes. A cabal, in power, must maintain its ascendancy by the means, through which it was obtained. Base passions must be fostered. Corrupt hopes must be gratified. Power, which lives by corruption, must find, or will make, the aliment necessary for its support. It hastens to glut its ravening appetite on our morals, that it may devour our liberties, at its leisure.

Such are our rulers and their principles, when viewed by the light, and tried by the standard of Washington.

In treating of our condition, I shall not waste the hour in idle regrets, or vain criminations. The hand of ruin is upon us and upon our cities. The deep, and ancient root of the prosperity of Massachusetts is

withering. Our commerce, navigation and fisheries are gone. A whirlwind from the west, is passing over those massy pillars of our greatness, and they are, already, prostrate. Lamentation and despair suit not the condition of freemen. Least of all, of the freemen of Massachusetts. To them it belongs to be mindful of the character of their ancestors; men, keen to discern and resolute to perform their duties; generous spirits, whom power could not tempt, nor fraud ensnare, nor force subdue. The descendants of such men ought to blush, at being satisfied with shuffling along from one mode of oppression to another; and from one stage of corruption to another; each individual happy, if his head escapes the bolt, intended for the general ruin; content with life and precarious enjoyment to-day and to-morrow; careless of the long extent of time, which is to come afterward. The grave will soon close upon us and our vain joys and vainer anticipations. You are fathers.—What political inheritance do you leave to your children? Where lie the sources of the evils, which we suffer? What are the remedies? What are our duties?

The sources of a people's sufferings, for the most part, lie hidden from casual observation and superficial research. It often requires firmness and fidelity, as well as labour, to penetrate their natures and explore oppression to its fountains. There is, also, a self deception, which, from indolence, or apathy, the love of ease, or of business, mankind, even the best, are perpetually inclined to practise, and which, for the most part, makes such inquiries abortive. They mistake effects, for causes. Escape from present suffering, for relief from the disease. When, perhaps, it is only that morbid torpor, which precedes ideocy, or madness; that state of nervous imbecility, into which nature sinks, while she prepares fuel for new flames; and collects stimulants, for farther sufferings, and stronger convulsions.

Who, that understands the real condition of our country, can refrain from such reflections, when he hears

the greetings, in our places of public resort and the dreams of our newspapers? "What think you? Is "not peace coming? The Russian mediation,—will "not that be successful? Can loans be obtained? "Without loans can the war be protracted?" As if, in this war, was included the sum of our evils! As if this was the cause of our calamities, or was any thing else than the symptom of our disease!

Suppose peace. What then? Is confidence restored? Is the anti-commercial spirit of your rulers subdued? Will the double duties be repealed? Can commercial prosperity revive under these impositions? Or, if it revive, for a moment, is there any reason to hope, that the machinations against its vital principles, which have now become systematised, and already reduced it to the verge of annihilation, will not be repeated; and in other modes, and under more favourable auspices, made successful?

Alas! people of Massachusetts! I cannot conceal the deep conviction of my soul, that peace, itself, desirable as it is and anxiously as every lover of his country ought to pant for it, will be, in truth, only an alleviation from present ills, and will be very far from restoring to your prosperity that solid basis, which a wise people ought to seek, and a powerful people, in the exercise of constitutional rights, to demand.

The sources of our sufferings lie deeper than embargo, or war; great as are both these evils. Washington foresaw and foretold, that these men "would "be satisfied with nothing short of a change in our "political system."* But Washington himself did not foresee, nor could any human eye have foreseen, the change, which, in so short a space of time, has been made in the internal relations of this country; much less could he have foreseen the change, which artful construction and interested usurpation have made in the principles of our constitution.

* Marshall's life of Washington, 5th vol. p. 34, of the notes.

These changes make little noise, and excite less sensation. They are treated as topics of mere curiosity; yet it is the condition of things, which these changes indicate and make permanent, that encourages the spirit and emboldens the policy of the ruling cabal; that makes intrigue and corruption the necessary instruments of power; and renders commercial embarrassments, modified indeed, by occasional circumstances, inevitably perpetual, as an essential means of success in the projects of its ambition.

I speak under the sanction of the spirit of Washington. He has told us that * "*experience is the surest* "*standard, by which to test the real tendency of the ex-* "*isting constitution of a country.*" He taught us "*to* "*resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its prin-* "*ciples.*" He instructed us, that "*the spirit of en-* "*croachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the* "*departments in one, and thus to create, whatever* "*the form of government, a real despotism.*" And his paternal voice now warns us, as from the grave, against "*change by usurpation, as the customary wea-* "*pon by which free governments are destroyed.*"

I shall speak concerning the changes, which time and usurpation have produced in our political condition; I shall explain their effect upon our present and future prosperity; and inquire concerning the remedies, for the evils, which we suffer.

It is a notorious fact, that, partly by the operation of the slave ratio in the constitution, and partly by the unexampled emigrations, into the west, the proportions of political power, among the states of this country, have changed, since the adoption of the federal constitution, in a degree, as unanticipated, as the result is eventful and ominous. On the proportion of its political power, in an association like ours, does the safety of every state, which is a member of it, depend. And reason teaches, and safety requires, that this proportion should have some reference to the nature

* Washington's valedictory address to the people of the United States.

and greatness of its interests. I shall have occasion to illustrate these principles, hereafter. I refer to them, at present, only as the basis of this position, that, inasmuch as the safety of every state depends upon its proportion of political power, in an association, it is both the right and the duty of every state to inquire into that matter. A free people have a right, and it is their duty, to inquire into the securities, they possess for their liberties and properties; and to see, whether they be such as ought to give content to wise and virtuous minds. There is nothing mysterious in the fabric of our freedom. There is no divine right of Kings, or Presidents, or Congresses, in the whole compound. By the constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, it is made our duty frequently to resort to first principles. We have not only the right to examine the top and the shaft of the column of our liberties, but, if it appear out of plumb, or out of level, it is made our duty to look at the corner stones and see if they are not falling away. I know that when these topics are touched, all the craftsmen, those, who make profit by the shrines, and are growing fat on the offal of the sacrifices, are in an uproar; and run about crying, "the constitution is in danger. "These things lead to a dissolution of the union.— "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" What? Are we not freemen? If, to any individual, the result of our political institutions appear incompatible, with general, or particular, safety, shall he not speak? How, then, can the evils, which we feel, or fear, be remedied, or prevented? How else can we bring our existing constitution to that test of experience, "which Washington has told us is the surest standard of its real tendency?" In my judgment, concealment, in such case, is not so much an error, as a crime. For a crime it is, for a citizen, in a free country to see, or believe that he sees, distinct dangers surrounding the Commonwealth, and be silent concerning them, either through fear of personal responsibility, or in subserviency to the apathy, or the prejudices of the times.

Nor is it true that such inquiries tend to the disso-

lution of the union. On the contrary their natural tendency is to strengthen it. For, if such inquiry result, in the conviction that the rational security, we ought to seek, exists, then surely there is content; and thence strength; and thence continuance. But, if the result of the inquiry be that rational security, exists no longer, then, indeed, this conviction has a tendency to produce a consentaneousness of sentiment and action in the oppressed members of the association; which in its result, we have reason to hope, cannot fail to bring, in a constitutional way, oppressors to a sense of their duty and their interests. If this should not be the case, still our duty remains. The duty of freemen is, frequently, to examine into the basis of their liberties. Unless, indeed, it be asserted which, at this day, and in this country, I think it will hardly be, that a free people are necessarily of that tribe of Issachar, which must crouch under all the burdens imposed upon it; and not open its mouth, whatever be its sufferings, provided its sides are belaboured, with sticks of a legal size; and with cuts and flourishes practised, according to the forms of a written manual.

The degree, in which the proportions of political power, among the states of this union, have been changed, by time and usurpation, since the adoption of the constitution, admits of a very varied and extensive illustration. I shall confine myself to the statement of one or two facts, rather by way of indicating the state of things than describing it. This cannot be done, in all its relations, within the limits of the present occasion. To show the progress of political power to the south and the west, I state this fact. At the time of the adoption of the federal constitution, the three states, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, did not exist. Their territories contained somewhat more than one hundred thousand souls; and had no perceptible weight in the national scale. They, now, together, contain a white population, somewhat exceeding that of Massachusetts. Of commerce and navigation, they

have none ; at least none worth the estimate. The revenue of customs, which they have paid, since the adoption of the constitution is, scarcely, an item in the books of the Treasury. Yet these states, on every question touching the interest of that commerce and navigation, so vital to the prosperity of Massachusetts, have *twenty-two* votes in the House of Representatives, while she has *twenty ;* and while Massachusetts has *two* votes in the Senate, they have *six !*

Without reference to other considerations and viewed only in relation to the most familiar notions of equity and equality, is it not monstrous that a mass of population, scarcely more than equal to that of Massachusetts, recent, of twenty years collection, for the most part emigrants from Europe, or the elder states, located a thousand miles from the seaboard, knowing nothing of its interests, caring nothing about them, in fact having a direct interest in embarrassing them, should have *one tenth more* weight in the House of Representatives and *three times more,* in the Senate, than the ancient, rich, intelligent, powerful population of Massachusetts ?—A people, whose institutions, habits, manners, industry, interests and principles have been nearly two centuries consolidating. A people, who have arts and arms and virtues. A state, which alone possesses nearly half a million of tons of shipping ; and all the capital and cultivated intelligence necessary for its employ ?

Take another fact. The states of Virginia and Georgia, together, possess a white population, but alittle exceeding that of Massachusetts. Yet through the effect of the slave ratio, and the principles of the constitution, while Massachusetts possesses, in the Senate and the House of Representatives, *twenty-two votes,* they possess *thirty-three !* All these states, which I have named, Virginia, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, have paid into the Treasury of the United States, on customs, scarcely more than *fifteen millions of dollars,* since the adoption of the constitution. (*e*) The single state of Massachusetts has paid more than

forty-two millions net revenue. Yet, upon every question touching the life blood of our commerce, while Massachusetts, in both branches of the legislature, has but *twenty-two* votes, those states have *sixty-one*. I state one other fact. The power attained, in the House of Representatives, by the effect of the slave ratio is *twenty* votes. The state of Massachusetts has but *twenty*. So that this great and ancient and once proud, but now, constitutionally speaking, humbled commonwealth, has absolutely no more weight in the national scale, than a species of beings, in fact as destitute of political rights, as the brute creation. Upon theoretical principles, can any thing be more shameful. The practical effect is worse than the theory.

Perhaps, however, it may be said that this evil is temporary, and that the causes, which have produced this inequality, are ceasing to operate. The fact is, directly, the reverse. The causes are permanent, progressive, and unlimited. All the policy of the government is shaped to strengthen them. The constitution, itself, has been violated in order to augment the oppressive preponderancy of that quarter of the country.

Natural causes, and the embarrassment of the industry of the Atlantic states, still continue to augment the population of that country, with an unparalleled rapidity. Within the next ten years, an addition of three more states, on this side the Mississippi, is spoken of confidently. Some say there will be more. But be they more, or be they less, of this rest assured, that they will be multiplied with no sort of reference either to the convenience, or the necessities even of the people of those territories, but solely with reference to the political wants of the leaders of the predominating cabal, at the seat of government, and with a distinct view, to create a new counterpoise, in case the political scale appear to vibrate in favour of the interests of this quarter of the union.

Even this state of things, humiliating as it is, might be endured. Notwithstanding it presents little com-

fort, for the present, and less consolation for the future ; notwithstanding it indicates this strange condition, as the result of our political association ; that the new states govern the old ; the unsettled the settled ; that the influences of emigrants prevail over those of the ancient natives ; and that a black population outbalances the white ; that from woods, and lakes, and desart wildernesses, legislators issue, controuling the destinies of a seaboard people, paralizing all their interests and darkening all their prospects ;— all this notwithstanding, still the condition might be endured, upon the principle that it was the fair result of the compact. We had agreed that all the people, within the ancient limits of the United States, should be placed on the same footing, and had granted an undoubted right to Congress to admit states, at will, *within the ancient limits ;* we had done more, we had submitted to throw our rights and liberties, and those of our children, into common stock with the southern men and their slaves ; and had agreed to be content with what remained, after they, and their negroes, were served. We had signed the bond, and notwithstanding the enormous inequality of the condition, honour might, in such case, have required that we should be silent concerning our birth rights. At least, in such case, want of sense, or want of spirit, would find an ample refuge from self reproach, in the acknowledged solemnity of the obligations.

But what shall we say to (what is called) the admission of Louisiana into the union ? What shall we say to the annexation of a territory greater than the whole of the old United States? What, to the asserted power, indeed, already in one instance exercised, of making states, beyond the Mississippi, as unlimited in point of number as of extent ? The indifference, with which that usurpation of power has been viewed, in this part of the country, is an event, as astonishing as it is ominous. Notwithstanding the general nature of the terms of the constitution, relative to the admission of new states, there is not a shadow of pre-

tence, from the history of the period and the known state of public opinion, at the time of its adoption, that the admission of any states were contemplated, or authorized, except those, *within the ancient limits.* And yet we have witnessed this astonishing seizure of power made, by the general government, under the influences of the southern and western states, almost without a murmur. A seizure of power, which unsettles all the proportions of political influence guaranteed by the constitution, as it came out of the hands of Washington. Bad, and humiliating, in this respect, as was the condition of Massachusetts, under the principles of the real constitution, under the principles of the constitution, modified by this usurpation, its condition is an hundred fold worse. Yet none of us seem to realize it. Louisiana is spoken of as being an integral part of this nation, with as much indifference, as though it had been admitted by an unquestionable authority. We hear of the intention of cutting it up into new states, with as much unconcern, as though we had no interest in the matter. Yet every additional state augments that depressing inequality of political influence, which already grinds our interests in the dust; rivets our chains; and makes more certain and hopeless the condition of our political servitude.

What think you would the spirit of Washington have said upon this subject? Could he recognize our present constitution, ridden by this *Incubus*, as that constitution, which he had framed and recommended to his country? Is it not notorious that the extent of territory, even as it existed, at the time of the adoption of the constitution, was among the most serious objections to the success of the experiment? What said Washington upon the topic?* "Is there a doubt "whether a common government can embrace so large "a sphere? Let experience solve it. It is well worth "a full and fair experiment."—Yet, scarcely had

*Washington's Valedictory.

twenty years elapsed, the ancient limits not yet half peopled, by an usurpation, as palpable, as it is, to us, ruinous, new territories have been added, (as it is called) to the United States, of double the ancient extent! An equality in political rights with the old United States has been extended to a mixture of Frenchmen, Spaniards, emigrant Americans, Creoles and Negroes. Already the whole weight of the state of Massachusetts is neutralized, by the effect of this usurpation, in the senate of the United States. And soon the present miserable remnant of its political power will be trampled under the hoofs of a parti-coloured race of new states, to come rushing into sovereign influence, from those boundless woods and prairies. Is this that "full and fair experiment," of the practicability of a republican government, over the ancient extent, which Washington recommended? Before the admission of new regions of unlimited extent, would not the spirit of Washington have dictated that the result of the experiment, within the ancient limits, should first have been satisfactorily ascertained? If the result of a republican experiment, was, in his judgment, uncertain, within the ancient limits, on account of their extent, is it not, altogether hopeless, now that those limits are more than doubled? The truth is, that this annexation of Louisiana to the United States, is as irreconcilable with the spirit of a republican government, as it is unauthorized by the principles of our constitution. In fact, the influences, which settled that question, had no regard for either the one, or the other. In its true point of view, and considered according to its real nature, the admission, (as it is called) of Louisiana into the union, was a political intrigue, having for its object, to shift the balance of power still farther to the south and the west; and being intended, by extending the sphere of population, and by increasing the ability to make new states, to secure, irredeemably, the preponderancy of the influences of that quarter; and perfect the political insignificancy of this part of the country.

This, then, is the undeniable condition of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. That proportion of political power, which they possessed, at the time of the adoption of the constitution, is gone; and the proportion, which remains, has not one characteristic of equality, or justice; whether we take age, or intelligence, or enterprise, or wealth, or physical strength, or population, as the measure of what is just and equal. This proportion, thus diminished, is every day, diminishing still farther, in a geometrical ratio, by the operation of changes; partly the effects of the fair principles of our association, and partly of usurpation. Such is the result of that "experience," to which Washington refers us as the "test of every constitution."—Is this a state of things, which ought to give content to wise and virtuous minds?

Let no man startle at this question, as though it was a veil thrown over some dreadful image, which the mind dare not distinctly contemplate. Inquiries of this kind belong to the condition of freemen. They are sanctioned by the spirit and the tenor of the constitution. Corrupt men, in power, who are trampling upon the people's rights and laying snares for their liberties, will always stigmatise such inquiries as schemes for the dissolution of the union. But what says the spirit of Washington? *"The necessity of reciprocal checks, in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing "it into different depositaries, and constituting each "the guardian of the public weal, against invasions "by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our own country "and under our own eyes. To preserve them must "be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the "opinion of the people, the distribution, or modification of the constitutional powers, be, in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in "a way which the constitution designates. *But let "there be no change by usurpation.*" Not only are

* Washington's Valedictory.

"the opinion of the people" and the power of the states, the natural "guardians of the public weal," and the declared constitutional resort, in cases of usurpation, or of manifest changes in the distribution of constitutional power, dangerous to political safety, but also there is, in the nature of things, paramount obligations, which make such resort imperious, as well as constitutional. As it is with the people of every state, so it is with the people of this commonwealth, the individuals, composing this state, owe, to the people of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, an allegiance, original, inherent, native and perpetual. True it is, that the people of this commonwealth have transferred a certain specified portion of allegiance, originally due to them, from the individuals composing their state, to a certain, extrinsic association, called the United States. This transferred portion of allegiance is, not only limited in its nature, but it is, also, conditional. The condition is, that the principles of the constitution should be preserved inviolate. Whether any such violation have occurred, or whether it be such as essentially affects the securities of their rights and liberties, are questions, to which the people of each of the associated states are competent not only to discuss, but to decide. And we, in this commonwealth, have reason to thank the Great Giver of every good gift, that he has bestowed upon this people, not only the right to make, but the power to support any decision, to which they may be called, by a manifest violation of their liberties. If the people of the commonwealth of Massachusetts shall ever become slaves, it will be from choice and not from nature; it will be, not because they have not the power to maintain their freedom, but because they are unworthy of it.—The question recurs—is this, our political state, safe, or honorable?

As to those who maintain, if, indeed, there be any such, that the political rights of a state are safe; and that its prosperity is sufficiently secure, notwithstanding, it either has no proportion of political power, or a very small proportion, in comparison with the greatness of its interests, I know not how to reply. An

assertion of this kind exhibits so limited an acquaintance with the nature of the human heart, and with the history of man, that he, who should make it, can scarcely be deemed the subject of argument. Certainly the plainest dictates of reason teaches, that, as among independent nations, no single nation is safe, except in proportion to its physical power, so among associated states, no single state is safe, except in proportion to its political power. There is no more friendship among states, in politics, than there is friendship among men, in trade. If an old, rich, laborious, plodding state become associated, in a political compact, with new, needy, desperate, and cunning, states, in such a way that the whole, or a great proportion of the political power should be vested in these last states, is there need of any ghost to tell us, what would be the result? Is it not inevitable that the policy of an association, thus constituted, would be so conducted as to turn the wealth of that rich state into the coffers of the predominating states; and its population into their territories? The temptation is too strong for man, in the ordinary state of human virtue to resist. Yet, we every day hear the inquiry made,—"Have the predominating influences of the southern and western states any interest, in embarrassing our commerce or navigation?" To this I answer,—"*They have embarrassed it. They have prostrated it.*" I should think this was answer enough. That it is embarrassed; that it is prostrated; I think no man will deny. As little can it be denied that *they have done it.* Does any man believe that had the influences of Massachusetts, or of the other commercial states predominated, that the course, which has been adopted would have been the resort, as the means of relief from such external difficulties as those, with which the nation has been pressed? Had New England, or New York, stood alone, under circumstances of similar foreign embarrassment would they, or either of them, have resorted to proclamations, restrictions, nonintercourse, embargo, and gunboats? Would the navy have been neglected

until the moment of war? Would the seaports, after war was declared, have remained thus, wholly, defenceless? Should we have marched into Canada to avenge impressment? Or on that point, in the relative state of our naval force, would war have been either declared, or continued? Or if it had been, would it not have been differently conducted? This war, the measures which preceeded it, and the mode of carrying it on, are all, undeniably, southern and western policy; and not the policy of the commercial states. Now it is, in my apprehension, of little importance, if the vital interests of the commonwealth of Massachusetts are destroyed, whether the blow be given, through ignorance, indifference, or design. *Under these influences they are destroyed.* And if the apathy of the commercial states continue, and the present spirit of party render them blind to their natural interests, the policy, which has wrought this destruction, will be perpetuated. This policy perpetuated, we may call ourselves what we please; in the eye of reason and common sense, we are slaves. And I add, for I know the natures of the predominating influences of those states,—slaves to no very desireable masters.

The question, so often agitated, concerning the interest which the predominating influences of the south and west have to embarrass commerce, is, in fact, of more curiosity than use. The mere interest of a state never did, and never will shape its policy except in those rare times, when such high minded men, as Washington, govern. The Protean herd of ordinary statesmen, such as always will govern the United States, the present proportions of political power continuing, never inquire how the interests of a people are to be served, but how their power shall be prepetuated.

Such men lay the foundation of their power, in the passions and prejudices of the country, particularly of those sections, which possess the predominating influences. These are, in these United States, undeniably, those of the south and the west. Now the passions of a people, far inland, always did, and always will tend to

jealousy and envy of the seaboard; and lead to a course of policy depressing to its prosperity. Although many individuals, in such sections, may entertain juster and more liberal ideas, yet these opinions are those, which unavoidably penetrate the mass of their population. The reason is obvious. It is the tendency of commerce and navigation to introduce into seaboard states, a rapid increase of wealth, and a population, compact, active, enterprising, intelligent and powerful. It is impossible, that states, which, from their situation, far inland, cannot share, or but very remotely, these advantages, should not look upon the wealth and strength of the seaboard, increasing in a very great relative disproportion to their own, without some fear and a mixture of envy. Hence, there, insensibly, grows up, in those sections, a disposition to check the prosperity of the seaboard; and above all a policy, to embarrass and render uncertain the employment of capital and population on the ocean; and to give to both an inland direction. These dispositions, they will carefully conceal from the world, and, perhaps, even from themselves. But they must exist, because they are natural to men, in such circumstances, and because ambitious men, who would controul those sections, are careful to instil them, if out of power, and to gratify them if in it; for the purpose of obtaining that controul over the passions of such sections, as is necessary to effect the ends of their own ambition.

History shows, that such dispositions have always existed, in inland states, toward seaboard states. That they are the natural result of the human passions, placed in such situations, will not be denied. Our experience is perfectly conformable with nature and history.

The men, who now govern this country, laid the first foundations of their power, by exciting, in the inland states, a jealousy of the atlantic and commercial states. The policy of Washington was strictly commercial. The men, who now govern the United States, commenced their career of opposition to his influence, by appealing to the passions and fears of the interior, relative to

the views and policy of the seaboard. Washington warned the southern and western states against them without effect. He foretold, that these men would be satisfied with "nothing short of a change in his system of policy." The result has proved his prescience. They are in power. The whole system of his policy is changed. In other words, a policy friendly to commerce is pulled down, and one, hostile to it, is erected on the ruins of his system.

Is it wonderful then, that our navigation and commerce are destroyed? Animosity to them is the very basis of the power of these men, and the condition of its continuance. Can it be denied that a settled system, to prostrate these our vital interests, is in operation, when every occasion is seized to embarrass it; and when we hear not only, in private conversation, but on the floor of Congress, language to this effect, and almost in these terms, used by men from those sections? "If your capital wants "employment, we can employ it. Capital is what we "want. Let your seamen take to the spade. We have "land enough for them all. Suppose your cities are "destroyed, liberty will find refuge beyond the moun-"tains." For myself, I cannot conceal my conviction that systematic embarrassment of commerce is the policy of these men, and of the influences, on which they rely for support. War, in Canada, in support of seamen's rights, and a mission to Russia, for the purpose of negociating concerning them, are, perfectly, characteristic. The chances and occasions of irritation are multiplied, and the commercial states are kept amused, with obscure and distant hopes, while ruin, and impoverishment, is gradually stealing over them.

Peace itself, these proportions of political power continuing, will not restore commercial prosperity. The system of policy will be modified, not abandoned. It is a state of things, which ever since the year 1794, those influences have been labouring to effect and they will not permit the advantage, they have gained, to be lost. By high duties, smuggling will be increased; and regular commercial industry discouraged. By the multiplication

of vexatious laws, the upright merchant will be [illegible]et-ually dragged as a culprit to the bar of the treasury, and be taught that he holds his property, not by the tenure of known laws, but by the arbitrary will of an individual. The fatness of commerce will be continually thrown to the vultures of party; and these birds of prey will be enabled, not only to strip the merchant, but to pick clean the bones of the mechanic and the labourer. By sudden and unanticipated changes in the laws, the uncertainty of that mode of industry will be increased; and occasions, perhaps, will be seized, to admit other nations into an equality with you, in your own markets. By these, and a thousand other schemes, your navigation will be harrassed. The capital, once employed in it, turned inland. Your population, discouraged from looking to the ocean, will turn to the west. And they will grow rich, powerful and prosperous, on the ruins of your greatness. Whatever may be the real interests of the people of the south and the west, this is unquestionably the system of those, who now guide their political influences. And, so long as your weight bears no proportion to your real interests, this quarter of the country will be the victim of such a policy.

Perhaps it may be objected, that this course of remark is at variance with that advice of Washington, which warns us * "against characterising parties by geographical discriminations; northern and southern, eastern and western; whence" says he, "designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views." But let it be remembered, that this warning voice of Washington was uttered, in the conscious integrity of his own administration, and in the anticipation and hope, that a like integrity would characterise the policy of his successors. Let it be remembered, that it was uttered, as the history of his times will evidence, by way of warning against these very men, and their partizans, who began, in his day, to excite these local jealousies; and to lay, in them, the foundations of their future elevation. By

* Washington's Valedictory.

cu[illegible]ng jealousy of commerce, hatred of a navy, propagat[illegible] unfounded suspicions, in the western states, relative to the policy of his administration and of the atlantic states, these men arrived at their present eminence. Power must be preserved by the means, through which it was obtained. A party, which laid the foundation of its power, in local views, must be local in its policy. An administration, local in its policy, makes inevitable local jealousies, in the oppressed sections. And such jealousies become as just, as they are inevitable. Hear the criterions of that absence of local view in a government, which should deprive jealousy of its grounds, enumerated by Washington. * "The north in an "unrestrained intercourse with the south," shall find "great additional resources of maritime and commerci- "al enterprize!" The south, in the same intercourse "shall see, its commerce expand—its particular navi- "gation invigorated—and shall contribute to nourish "and increase the general mass of the national naviga- "tion!"—These are Washington's criterions of that absence of localview, which should remove all jealousy. If expansion of commerce, encouragement of navigation, and promotion of intercourse, be the evidence of liberal dispositions and freedom from local views; what dispositions are evidenced by restrictions; non-intercourse; embargo; and war, with the only nation on the globe, capable of annihilating our navigation and commercial prosperity? Were Washington to speak from the grave, could he express, in stronger language, that *these rulers are local* in their views and geographical in their policy? To encourage confidence and affection, among the sections of the country, was undoubtedly the policy of Washington. And what are the grounds he enumerates as the foundations of this mutual confidence and affection? * "That we had the same religion, manners, "habits, and political principles; that in a common "cause we had fought and triumphed, together; that "our liberty and independence was the work of joint "councils and joint efforts of common dangers, suffer-

* Washington's Valedictory.

" ings and successes?" Now I ask, how do the perpetual reasons apply in favor of mutual confidence, or affection, or indeed, in favor of the constitution, after our liberties have been mutilated by the admission, (as it is called) of Louisiana, into the union? In what fields did the inhabitants of that country fight and triumph with us, for independence? In which of our councils, or efforts, or dangers, or sufferings, or successes, were they united? What sympathy have we for the Frenchmen and Spaniards, and Creoles, beyond the Missisippi? When did Massachusetts agree, that her destinies should be thrown at the mercy of those people; and that her political rights should be annihilated, as they will be, indeed, as they now are, by Louisiana, and that odious brood of states, she is hatching in her bosom?

I know that, in reply to the suggestion of a local interest and of a party intent upon the ruin of commerce, it is said that the most obtrusive, and the most violent clamors, in favor of navigation and commerce, are uttered by men from the south and the west; and it is asked, how is this consistent with a purpose to destroy them? I admit the fact. It is undeniable. The floor of Congress exhibits perpetual proof of it. There a man's zeal, in favor of commerce, is generally in an inverse ratio to his interest in it. There, for the most part, he talks the most about it, who knows the least; and has its interests nearer his tongue, in proportion as they are distant from his heart. You may, almost every day, see some half-bred lawyer, "*raised*" a thousand miles from the seaboard, who knows no more of a sailor than he does of a salamander, and who has seen, as many of the one species, in the fire, as of the other on the water, stand up on the floor of Congress, and wipe his crocodile tears, and whine and clamor, in favor of "*seamen's rights;*" an hour by the dial. And all this stage trick and bluster, in support of restriction, or of embargo, or of war, on the frontier, or for invasion of Canada, or of Florida;—in support of every measure, which has a direct tendency to make the seamen's condition more desperate and miserable.

All this is true; and all is demonstrative of the settled policy of those men and of the influences, which

they support. If it were their real purpose to encourage commerce, would they not adopt a policy more conformable to the known wishes of the commercial states? Were it their purpose to annihilate it, is not this the only course, they could adopt, with any chance of success? Were men, from the south and west, to come forward and say to the people of New-York and New-England. "You "must abandon your modes of industry. Your pros- "perity sickens us. We envy your wealth. We fear "your greatness. What you employ, on the ocean, we "want on the land. We have every thing else, except "population and capital. Come, be weighed in a land "scale, and then we are sure of perpetually prepon- "derating." Were these men to make such an explanation of motives would not their policy be at an end, in a moment? Would the commercial states endure it? Certainly not. The only course such men have to pursue is that, which they have adopted. To be clamorous in favor of every extravagant commercial claim, and to embarrass commerce, by pretending to defend it. Accordingly, these are the men, who talk about "the sacredness of the flag,"—that "it shall cover every thing and every body," that "the ship is but an extension of the territory," and that "the rights of naturalized citizens are as perfect as those of the native."—Principles, which they know well, if enforced, would be, in the relative condition of our maritime power, a perpetual embarassment of commerce. These are the influences, which, in defence of the carrying trade, granted a specific non-importation; which, as a security for our seaports devised gunboats; which, "to save our essential resources," bestowed upon us an embargo. Last of all, as a sovereign panacea for all commercial ills, they have prescribed war; and this too, which, from the power of the adversary is a total annihilation of our prosperity, is made, if you believe these men, for our special accommodation and relief!

This, then, is the undeniable condition of the United States. A sectional cabal governing them, not according to the true interests of any part, but solely according to the interests of their own ambition; deceiving and misleading the inland influences, corrupting and depressing the commercial. The basis of their power not temporary, but permanent, because it rests upon changes,

which time and usurpation have made in the relative proportion of the powers of the constitution. What are the remedies? The spirit of Washington answers! "Submit to no change by usurpation. If the distribution or modification of the constitutional power, be wrong, let it be corrected in a constitutional way."

But how is this to be effected, weak, divided, and oppressed, as are the commercial states? I answer.—Let them be ashamed of the past. Be wise for the future. Put away these divisions. Let common interests cement your affections. Out, fromyour councils, and out, from your confidence, be every man, who will not maintain the old foundations of New-England prosperity. Follow no longer after, the doctrines and commandments of men, from the mountains. Contend earnestly for the commercial faith, delivered by your fathers. And let him, who will not stand up for it, be to you worse than an infidel.

Let ancient divisions cease; and the poor triumphs of party be forgotten, in the contemplation of the interests of Massachusetts. The venerable name of government, the respect due to authority, the obtrusive pretensions of impostors in power, have misled many. Thank Heaven! the scales are fast falling from the eyes! The snare of the fowler is broken, and New-England is escaping.

But remember. It is not relief from commercial restrictions; nor yet the attainment of peace; nor yet the change of your rulers; that is to be the object of your struggles. Doubtless the jugglers will shift the hand, when they see the old game is discovered. They understand well, that the commercial influences are not to be crushed, in a moment. Although the Leviathan is hooked, he cannot be drawn, at once, and speared to the land. He must be played backward and forward, at the end of the line. Now a little given, and then taken away. Until, exhausted by idle efforts, the strength and adhesion of his parts gone; his fat shall be transferred to the mountains; and he shall remain, the skeleton of his former greatness, the scorn and the sport of his spoilers.

People of Massachusetts! People of the commercial states! Look into the foundations of your security. Strive to bring back the principles and proportions of the constitution to the standard of Washington. Nay

more, by a great, consentaneous, and constitutional effort, strive to bring it back to the principles of wise and honorable safety. Look at the fact, that, by the operation of the slave ratio, in the constitution, and by the unlimited power of making new states, partly the result of the provisions of the constitution, partly of usurpation, the proportion of political power bears no relation to the proportion of your real interests. Recollect that this state of things is daily growing worse. Remember, that the very blacks of the southern states are equal in weight, in the political scale, to the whole state of Massachusetts. Is this a condition of things patiently to be borne by freemen; at least without one constitutional effort. If it be, we deserve what we endure. We deserve to be, what we are,—of no more weight than slaves.

But it is said, that the southern and western states will never accede to any relinquishment of their power, be it constitutional or usurped. Well; then, if we are destined to be slaves, let us, at least, show that we know our condition; and that we are not of that brutal kind, "so perfect in their misery, not one perceives his foul disfigurement." Let the commercial states, by a constitutional exertion prove, at least, that they have the will to be free;—that, if they are not, that it is necessity, not choice. Every day the weight of the commercial states, particularly of New England, is growing less and less; and the security of their rights are consequently diminishing. Not an hour that does not put a new rivet into their chains. Every man, who opens his eyes, sees it. Every man, who reflects, must feel it. A state of things is advancing, which will be absolutely insupportable. It is impossible;—nature does not permit, that great, powerful, intelligent sections of country can long be content, with a state of things, in which their interests and rights are holden in subjection, and managed, at the caprice of men, living a thousand miles inland; who know nothing about their interests; who care nothing about them; and who make, or mar, the fruits of their industry not by any known rule, or standard, but as whim, or passion, or political intrigue, dictates. It is impossible. Nature does not permit a long continuance of such a state of things. The people of this country have but two events, between which to select. And that at no

distant period of time. Either to put an end to this oppression and the chance of its recurrence, by a new and amicable modification of the proportions and powers of the constitution; or to worry along a little farther, until the weight of grievances produce convulsions, which will put an end to the constitution. Let no man think, that an amicable modification cannot result by a systematic and consentaneous action of the commercial states. There exists through the whole extent of the southern and western country, a generous, intelligent, and virtuous class of men; depressed, indeed, and ground to the dust, in point of political importance, by the prevailing influences of that quarter; but who feel as strongly and see as plainly as we the consequences of this system of things. These men can do nothing, while the commercial states are divided. It cannot be expected, that they should lead up a phalanx in defence of commercial rights; so long as we are timid and time serving, and truckling; looking after our farms and our merchandize; and permitting six-dollar-a-day patriots to barter away our birth rights, on the floor of congress, for offices, contracts, appointments, and every mess of pottage, corrupt men can proffer. If relief come, and permanent security, it must emanate from ourselves. It must proceed from a concentration of the sentiment of the commercial states, and a consentaneousness of constitutional action; having for its object, not temporary relief, but such modification of the principles of the association as will give security for the future. It is certain, that the existing principles, usurped, and constitutional, by which the proportion of political power is regulated, in these states, have thrown into relative insignificancy the power of the commercial states to protect themselves. Bound hand and foot, they are delivered over to be scourged, by the interior influences. If the commercial states are true to themselves, this state of things may be changed, in a constitutional way. Changed it must be, or our prosperity is a shadow; and our liberties, a name. The spirits of our fathers will disown those as their children, who stand by in apathy, while the deep and ancient foundations of the prosperity of their state is upturning. And the spirit of Washington, itself, shall grieve, at the success of "encroachments," which he declared to be "whatever the form of the government, a real despotism."

NOTES.

(*a*) p. 4. In a book, written by Mr. Monroe, and published in the year 1797, entitled "A view of the conduct of the Executive, in the foreign affairs of the United States," he thus expresses himself concerning the situation of America, under the administration of Washington, and of his conduct as the Executive of the United States.

"In her foreign relations, nothing is to be seen, but the waste "and pillage of her commerce, sometimes by several powers, "always by some one power; and little less than anarchy at "home: for the seeds of discontent, jealousy and disunion have "been scattered, throughout these States, in the course of a few "years past, with a wasteful hand. By what means then was "this state of things produced, and why was it produced?

"It is well known that the executive administration has here-"tofore guided all our measures; pursuing, in many instances, "a course of policy, *equally contrary to the public feeling and* "*public judgment.*"

"Nor is this all: Our national honour is in the dust; we "have been kicked, cuffed and plundered all over the ocean; "our reputation for faith scouted; our government and people "branded as cowards, incapable of being provoked to resist, "and ready to receive again those chains, we had taught others "to burst. Long will it be, before we shall be able to forget "what we are, nor will centuries suffice to raise us to the high "ground, from which we have fallen."—See Monroe's view, &c. printed in Philadelphia, by Benjamin Franklin Bache, 1797, pages liii. and lxvi.

Such is Mr. Monroe's "view" of the administration of George Washington!!!

(*b*) p. 4. Extract from Bache's paper of Septembsr 1, 1792.

At a meeting of sundry inhabitants of the western counties of Pennsylvania, at Pittsburgh, on the 21st Augnst 1792, Col. John Cannon, was placed in the chair and *Albert Gallatin* appointed clerk.

The excise law of Congress, being taken into consideration, a committee was appointed to prepare a draught of resolutions, expressing the sense of the meeting on the subject of said law.

Adjourned until 10 o'clock, to-morrow.

August 22, 1792.

The committee appointed yesterday made report, which being read *twice* was *unanimously* adopted.

The following is one of several resolutions unanimously adopted.

"And whereas some men *be* found amongst us so far lost to "every sense of virtue and feeling for the distress of this coun-"try, as to accept offices for collection of the duty."

"Resolved therefore, That in future, we will consider such persons as unworthy our friendship. *Have no intercourse or dealings with them, withdraw from them every assistance, and withhold all the comforts of life,* which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow-citizens we owe to each other, and upon all occasions treat them with that contempt they deserve, and that it be, *and it is hereby most earnestly recommended to the people at large to follow the same kind of conduct towards them.*

(Signed) JOHN CANNON, *Chairman.*
ALBERT GALLATIN, *Clerk.*

NOTES.

(*c*) p. 4. "Let me conjure you, in the name of our common "country, as you value your own sacred honour; as you re- "spect the rights of humanity; and as you regard the military "and national character of America; *to express your utmost hor- "ror and detestation of the man*, who wishes, under any specious "pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country.

Washington's address to the army, on the subject of the anonymous letters.—*Marshall's Life of Washington, 4th vol. p. 602.*

(*d*) p. 5. "It would have been to me a circumstance of great "relief, had I found a moderate participation of office in the "hands of the majority; I would gladly have left to time and "accident to raise them to their just sphere. But their total "exclusion calls for prompter correctives. I shall correct the "procedure; but *that done return with joy to that state of things, "when the only questions concerning a candidate shall be, is he "honest? is he capable? is he faithful to the constitution?*"

President Jefferson's reply to the remonstrance of the merchants of New Haven.

Twelve years have nearly elapsed, since the above letter was written; but neither Mr. Jefferson, nor his successor, ever yet have known "*the joy of that state of things when*," honesty, capacity, or fidelity to the constitution were the only questions concerning a candidate.

(*e*) p. 12. The following are the particulars, by which the leading facts in this, the preceding, and subsequent pages are supported.

By the census of 1810,

The white population of Kentucky is - -		325,950
That of - Tennessee - -		217,192
That of - Ohio - - -		230,760
Aggregate of the white population of those states		773,902
By the same census the population of Massachusetts is		700,745
The white population of Virginia is	582,104	
That - of Georgia is	147,215	
Aggregate of the white population of Virginia and Georgia		729,319
In the house of Representatives Virginia has	23 votes	
Georgia	6	
	— 29	
In the Senate they have	4	
	—	33 votes
Kentucky has in the house of Representatives	10	
Tennessee	6	
Ohio	6	
	— 22	
In the Senate these states have	6	
	— 28	
		61 votes

NOTES.

The following statement of the net amount of Revenue paid by the states of Massachusetts, Virginia, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, from the commencement of the present government, to theyear 1810, is taken from a report made, by the Secretary of the Treasury on the 28th of Feb. 1812, in pursuance of a Resolution of the house of Representatives; and printed by their order.

	Mass.	Virg.	Georgia.	Ken.	Ten.	Ohio.
1791	977,916 24	851,917 52	91,988 77	——	——	——
1792	678,246 66	474,495 29	53,173 91	——	——	——
1793	950,160 26	388,190 99	35,393 56	——	——	——
1794	1,004,884 42	389,696 50	87,813 15	——	——	——
1795	1,415,169 19	396,880 80	54,864 38	——	——	——
1796	1,334,764 67	598,276 95	31,559 56	——	——	——
1797	1,372,308 62	606,145 36	62,087 52	——	136 53	——
1798	1,168,086 28	629,412 04	——	——	408 85	——
1799	1,607,071 34	896,132 40	——	——	773 68	——
1800	1,974,996 70	644,594 14	——	——	736 86	——
1801	2,929,753 15	746,254 13	663,499 07	807 59	512 49	——
1802	1,525,909 86	689,422 48	211,927 00	1,222 31	74 74	——
1803	2,490,530 68	713,842 11	182,462 69	1,416 57	——	——
1804	3,630,931 24	902,671 03	180,420 30	——	——	——
1805	3,308,046 41	805,230 58	95,948 79	——	——	4,821 39
1806	3,524,326 92	620,016 76	183,335 17	——	——	883 09
1807	3,576,674 15	506,585 51	489,490 05	——	——	——
1808	1,184,921 95	110,332 65	35,085 38	——	——	——
1809	1,384,749 28	257,718 64	6,711 42	——	——	——
1810	2,774,226 34	461,516 58	134,911 68	——	——	170 58
	D.38,813,674 36	11,689,332 46	2,600,672 40	3,446 47	2,643 15	5,874 97

By the preceeding table it appears, that from the commencement of the government to the year 1810, inclusive, Massachusetts paid into the Treasury of the U. S. on customs. 38,813,674 36

Virginia during the same period paid 11,689,332 46

Georgia 2,600,672 40

Kentucky, 3,446 47

Ten· 2,643 15

O· 5,874 97

whole amount of net Revenue between 1790 and 1810 } 14,301,969 45

tate, since the year 1810. have not

public. e add an amount equal to the annual

ge of the payments o. the three years, preceding 1811, for the year 1811and 1812, (a basis of calculation sufficiently correct, for all the purposes of the argument) it will be found that those five states, united, have not paid since the commencement of the government a net Revenue into the Treasury of the United States of *Fifteen Millions of dollars.* It will, also, appear that during the same period, Massachusetts, has, alone paid *more than Forty-two Millions, net Revenue!*